

Additional Endnotes

Chapter 2

39: “Building on this success story, Pepsi-Cola Co. emerged a few years later as the financial savior of Richard Nixon.”

Vice President Nixon, a friend of Pepsi’s international manager, Donald Kendall, helped arrange a public relations coup for the company by introducing Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev to the refreshing soda at the American International Exposition in Moscow in 1959. The grateful company contributed generously to Nixon’s 1960 and 1962 campaigns. Following Nixon’s defeat in the California governor’s race in 1962, Kendall promised to throw his company’s legal business to Nixon’s law firm. Partly as a result, Nixon was made a full partner at the New York law firm of Mudge, Stern, Baldwin and Todd, with a six-figure salary and free time to pursue his political ambitions. Pepsi’s international business gave Nixon an opportunity to tour the globe, from Vietnam to Lebanon, burnishing his credentials as a statesman and foreign affairs expert. In Taiwan, the Pepsi franchise was owned by the family of China lobbyist T. V. Soong and Nixon’s friend Madame Chiang Kai-shek. In 1966, Pepsi lobbyist Arundel sold his Key Biscayne home to Nixon’s wealthy friend Robert Abplanalp, who would make it part of Nixon’s presidential compound. Tom Braden, “Nixon and Pepsi-Cola,” *Boca Raton News*, November 23, 1972; J. C. Louis and Harvey Z. Yazijian, *The Cola Wars: The Story of the Global Corporate Battle between the Coca-Cola Company and PepsiCo, Inc.* (New York: Everest House, 1980), 92–93, 111, 114; Earl Mazo and Stephen Hess, *President Nixon* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 285. Pepsi was controlled in the late 1930s and beyond through Phoenix Securities by Wallace Groves, who pioneered the use of offshore corporate shells in Panama and the Bahamas to minimize taxes. Wikipedia, “Wallace Groves,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wallace_Groves; Arthur Wiesenberger, *Investment Companies and Their Securities* (New York: Arthur Wiesenberger & Co., 1943), 138–39; Mark Pendergast, *For God, Country & Coca-Cola* (New York: Basic Books, 2013). In the 1960s, Groves became a partner of Lansky in a Bahamian casino project (see “Nixon’s Caribbean Milieu” online at rowman.com).

Chapter 3

52: “Its leaders included the right-wing Hearst columnist George Sokolsky, Schenley Industries CEO Lewis Rosenstiel, and, later, the scrappy New York lawyer Roy Cohn, who was infamous as chief counsel to Senator McCarthy’s investigating committee.”

Newly elected to its board was Victor Emanuel, chairman and president of Avco Manufacturing Corp. (Press release, February 14, 1955, at <https://archive.org/stream/Sokolsky-George-E-HQ-1-4-nsia/Sokolsky%2C%20George%20E.-HQ-1-4#page/n423/mode/2up>). Emanuel was regarded

by Drew Pearson as “about the worst business influence I know in government” (Pearson Diary, March 23, 1949, 32). Emanuel was appointed during World War II by FDR fundraiser and Alien Property Custodian Leo Crowley to the boards of General Aniline & Film and General Dyestuffs, two American companies controlled by I. G. Farben, the German chemical cartel. Emanuel, a New York utility and military aircraft investor, controlled Standard Gas and Electric Co., which appointed Crowley CEO at the end of 1939. During the war, Emanuel got to know Louis Johnson, former head of the American Legion, who was running General Dyestuffs for Crowley. Through Emanuel, Johnson became attorney and director of Convair, a major aircraft manufacturer controlled by Emanuel’s Avco (Keith D. McFarland and David L. Roll, *Louis Johnson and the Arming of America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 128); Graham D. Taylor, “The Axis Replacement Program: Economic Warfare and the Chemical Industry in Latin America, 1942–44,” in Walter L. Hixson, ed., *The American Experience in World War II: The United States in the European Theater* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 297–98; Charles Higham, *Trading with the Enemy: An Exposé of the Nazi-American Money Plot, 1933–1949* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1983), xx; Martin Lorenz-Meyer, *Safehaven: The Allied Pursuit of Nazi Assets Abroad* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007), 22; Thomas Swift, “Along Wall Street,” *New York Times*, March 23, 1941.

55: “Soong, who served as China’s foreign minister and finance minister, cultivated friends like Sokolsky and President Roosevelt’s White House assistant Lauchlin Currie to acquire almost miraculous intelligence and influence in Washington.”

In the early 1930s, Nationalist China’s finance minister, T. V. Soong, saved Sokolsky from penury by hiring him as a publicist and arms purchasing agent for the Chinese government. United States Congress, Senate, Special Committee to Investigate the Munitions Industry, *Munitions Industry*, 74th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1935), exhibit 895, 2385-86. The State Department’s political adviser, Stanley Hornbeck, noted that Sokolsky “acted as informal agent for various Chinese governmental officials in connection with projects of one type or another” but also observed that he was always in need of more money (Hornbeck letter to Hugh Coming Jr., June 17, 1933; Hornbeck memorandum, April 10, 1933, Hornbeck papers, box 391, Hoover Library). Left-wing journalist Agnes Smedley referred to Sokolsky contemptuously as a fat man living off tips from Soong (Sokolsky to Hornbeck, August 30, 1934, in Hornbeck papers, box 391). Later that decade, while working as a reporter for the *New York Herald Tribune*, Sokolsky moonlighted for the National Association of Manufacturers, taking \$28,000 “as compensation for publicizing the Red menace over the radio and on the speaking circuit” (O’Reilly, *Hoover and the Un-Americans*, 35). Sokolsky is profiled in Warren Cohen, *The Chinese Connection: Roger S. Greene, Thomas W. Lamont, George E. Sokolsky and American–East Asian Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

57: “Charnay later advised Dave Beck’s corrupt Teamsters union, whose relations with Richard Nixon are noted in chapter 8.”

In 1967, Charnay took on as investors in his Four Star Television syndicate the mob-connected American News Co. president Henry Garfinkle and lawyer-industrialist Francis S. Levien, a board member of 20th Century-Fox. Lieven contributed to the Lawrence A. Wien Foundation (see chapter 7), and his Universal American Corp. was purchased by Gulf and Western (chapter 4). “Charnay to Hold Prexy Title at 4 Star Pending New Operating Chieftain,” *Variety*, November 8, 1967, 32; US Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on Small Business, Subcommittee No. 1 on Foundations. *Tax Exempt Foundations: Their Impact on Small Business, Hearings*. 88th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1964) (Patman report), ix, 81.

In 1973, Charnay was indicted with Hank Greenspun and Howard Hughes but later acquitted for alleged illegal transactions surrounding Hughes Air West; J. Y. Smith, “Hughes Re-Indicted in Air West Deal,” *Washington Post*, July 31, 1974; “Indictment Charging Hughes and 3 Others Is Again Turned Down,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 14, 1974; “Hughes Accused of Manipulation, Fraud by SEC,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 28, 1975; Wallace Turner, “Appeals Court Reinstates Indictment of Hughes and 3,” *New York Times*, May 12, 1976; John Berry, “Hughes Estate Agrees to Pay Airline’s Stockholders \$30 Million,” *Washington Post*, January 20, 1979.

61: “Before long, Emanuel invited Johnson to join Convair’s board.”

Johnson likely became friends with Grunewald in the late 1930s, when the latter was chief investigator for Secretary of War Harry Woodring, and Johnson was assistant secretary (FBI report from Washington Field Office, August 24, 1952, re “Abraham Teitelbaum,” FBI FOIA release on Grunewald). Crowley was a Democratic Party operative of no great repute from Wisconsin. By a strange coincidence, GAF was landlord to the Chicago Outfit’s swankest nightclub, the Chez Paree. This connection may be relevant to the profitable relationship Johnson allegedly had with Chicago political boss Jacob Arvey related to Alien Property cases. Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, *Washington Confidential* (New York: Crown, 1951), 160; Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, *U.S.A. Confidential* (New York: Crown, 1952), 348 (Chez Paree), 309 (Arvey seen dining with Fischetti brothers at Chez Paree), and 327 (Arvey and Johnson). Mortimer and Lait were right-wing gossip mongers with excellent sources in Chicago.

Political fixer Thomas Corcoran offered some valuable perspective: “According to law, when the Alien Property Custodian confiscates foreign assets, he must dispose of them through their sale to private American interests—presumably on a highest-bidder basis. But how easy it is to arrange for a government insider to effectively fix a competitive auction. It would all look like it was on the up and up. But these deals were usually simple payoffs to the needy political faithful. . . . The winner would be a corporation whose future earnings would finance some trusted candidate’s expensive campaign for national office.” Thomas Corcoran with Philip Kopper, *Rendezvous with Democracy: The Memoirs of ‘Tommy the Cork,’* unpublished autobiography, chapter X, 28, in Thomas Corcoran papers, box 586, Library of Congress. Corcoran had extensively dealings with the Alien Property Custodian through his brother David’s involvement

with Sterling Drugs, a German-connected firm. Like Grunewald, he was even issued an employee identification card from the agency (Letter from Helen B. Weeks to Henry Grunewald, April 20, 1943, in Grunewald file, box 134, Corcoran papers).

64: “Its Delaware subsidiary, Commerce International (China), or CIC, had sold surplus US tanks and obsolete British arms to the Nationalists in late 1948.”

CIC’s main US offices were in New York and New Jersey; it also had branches and affiliates in Los Angeles, Honolulu, Athens, and Panama City. The company has existed in various forms for many years. From its website: “CIC Internatinal [sic] Ltd was created in 1930 by British interests with headquarters in Shanghai. Over the years the company’s focus changed from trading in silks and fur to that of a Defense contractor. The company enjoyed a dynamic growth, moved the headquarters to the US and rapidly became a major contractor to defense establishments throughout the world. The firm developed major components for state-of-the-art ammunition, vehicle modernization and communication devices. CIC has successfully developed sophisticated kinetic energy ammunition, far more economical to produce. Its research and development programs continue to provide major improvements to a wide variety of defense technologies.” <http://www.cic-international.com/html/defense.htm>. Bruce Cumings and Hsiao-tin Lin mistakenly associate CIC with World Commerce Corporation, created after World War II by several leading Anglo-American intelligence officials to profit from postwar reconstruction. That mistake apparently started with Peter Dale Scott, *The War Conspiracy* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1972), 210.

Chapter 4

85: “The broadcast network filed for bankruptcy after its corrupt deal was exposed, and Guterma was convicted in 1960 of acting as an unregistered Trujillo agent.”

Guterma’s associates in those frauds included attorney Roy Cohn; Michigan oil man Samuel Garfield, a business partner of Meyer Lansky; New Jersey crime boss Gerardo Catena; Las Vegas casino operator Edward Levinson; and members of the old Cleveland Syndicate who owned the Desert Inn hotel and casino in Las Vegas. Guterma accelerated his swindles in part to pay for his purchase of an oil property from Catena and Texas multimillionaire Clint Murchison Jr. See Harrison Salisbury, “Finance Wizard Gives Up to Face Inquiry by SEC,” *New York Times*, February 15, 1959; “Guterma Is Indicted,” *New York Times*, November 3, 1960; “Guterma Accused in a New Swindle,” *New York Times*, April 14, 1961; T. A. Wise, *The Insiders* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962), 119–52; Miriam Ottenberg, *The Federal Investigators* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 124–34; “Roy Cohn: Is He a Liar under Oath?” *Life*, October 4, 1963, 24ff; Wallace Turner, “Las Vegas: Gamblers’ Venture in the Stock Market Backfired,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1963; FBI report from SAC Las Vegas to Director, FBI, November 16, 1964, re “Nevada Gambling Industry,” 124-10342-10000; FBI report from James J. Kearney, Miami, March 4, 1963, re Meyer Lansky, NARA 124-10347-

10036; Hersh, *Bobby and J. Edgar*, 394; Turner, *Gambler's Money*, 212–14; *United States v. Dardi*, 330 F.2d 316 (2d Cir. 1964).

87: “President Eisenhower, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, and FBI director J. Edgar Hoover were dragged against their will into the Galíndez case to address questions raised by critics.”

As McKeever documents in *The Galíndez Case*, the victim had been an FBI informant since 1944, making it all the more deplorable that J. Edgar Hoover was slow to investigate his disappearance. As for the CIA, it initially peddled diversionary theories about possible Communist responsibility for the kidnapping, much as it did after the assassination of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier in Washington, D.C., in 1976 by agents of the military junta in Chile.

90: “Spending heavily on national defense, he assembled a mercenary foreign legion from the ranks of ultra-rightists in Spain, Germany, and Yugoslavia.”

Washington suspended all military aid to the Dominican Republic in February 1959, viewing Trujillo as a liability to the anti-Communist cause (Hall, *Sugar and Power*, 89). However, Trujillo was able to buy guns and munitions in Europe (mostly France). And as we will see below, the US embargo did not prevent Trujillo’s agents from attempting to buy arms in the United States. At the end of April 1959, I. Irving Davidson, a registered lobbyist for the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, said he was approached by a senior Dominican Republic army officer to acquire about \$2.5 million worth of arms for Trujillo, including 10,000 M-1 rifles, 210 .30-caliber Browning rifles, 30 Staghound armored cars, 20,000 37-mm projectiles for the armored cars, and 5 million rounds of .30 caliber ammunition. His client Somoza approved, and Davidson then met Trujillo, who asked him to move forward. However, Davidson told the FBI, “he actually had no intention of consummating this deal and would merely play along with the Dominicans but under no circumstances provide them the arms in question.” See memo from A. H. Belmont to Director, FBI, May 1, 1959, NARA 124-10294-10047.

92: ““So they were trying to score points with Castro right after he moved in.””

Triscaro went to Cuba at least three times in February and March 1959, almost certainly to meet with Bartone while the C-74 deal was in progress. Hoffa and his sidekick Gene San Souci became involved through Triscaro and Benjamin Dranow, a former department store owner who participated in several Teamster-funded investments, including the Sun Valley land swindle that would result in his and Hoffa’s indictment. In mid-February 1959, Dranow took temporary control of Akros Dynamics and made at least two trips to Cuba to support Bartone’s efforts to sell planes to the Castro regime. With Hoffa’s intervention, and contrary to the reservations of the pension fund’s paid advisor, trustees of the Central States, Southeast and Southwest Areas Pension Fund approved a \$300,000 loan to a principal in the aircraft deal in late May 1959. By

that time, the deal had shifted to an arms-and-plane sale to the Dominican Republic. The loan was canceled at the last minute by Sanford Clinton, attorney for the pension fund, doubtless because of Bartone's arrest. See McClellan Hearings, part 54, 19042-19106.

Dranow was convicted with Hoffa in 1964, along with other parties to the Akros Dynamics case (S. George Burris and Herbert Burris), on charges of misusing union funds for several large transactions, including the Sun Valley land fraud. See Moldea, *The Hoffa Wars*, 173–74; Arthur A. Sloane, *Hoffa* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 306–11; *United States of America v. James R. Hoffa, Benjamin Dranow, Zachary A. Strate, Jr., S. George Burris, Abe I. Weinblatt, Calvin Kovens, and Samuel Hyman*, United States Court of Appeals, 367 F.2d 698 (7th Cir. 1966), Oct. 4, 1966.

93: “A Cuban gambling associate of Santo Trafficante, who attended the meeting as a representative of General Pedraza, then handed \$50,000 to Morgan as a down payment.”

During Batista's reign, Bosque and Chief of Police Pedraza allegedly “split graft, kickbacks, and payoffs, and as a result, left Cuba very wealthy men.” (FBI report by SA Robert James Dwyer, Miami, February 29, 1960, re “Anti–Fidel Castro Activities,” NARA 124-10300-10074). Bosque was a “bolita banker” in Havana and partner with Trafficante's lieutenant Evaristo Garcia in a Jai Alai fronton (report by SA Stephen Labadi, Miami, January 15, 1959, re Santo Trafficante, Jr., NARA 124-10204-10137). Bosque was also part owner of the Oriental Park Race Track in Havana before the revolution (FBI interview with Joaquin Bosque Castellanos, September 13, 1968, NARA 124-10213-10189; Legal attaché, Havana, memo to Director, FBI, July 9, 1958, re “American Gambling Activities in Cuba,” NARA 124-90068-10103).

93: “The fine was later reduced to \$7,500.”

Bartone and Triscaro were both represented before the McClellan committee by attorney H. Clifford Allder, who also represented Jimmy Hoffa and Chicago Mafia boss Anthony Accardo (Britt Peterson, “The Only Kind of Washington Lawyer That's Gone Extinct,” *Washingtonian*, August 18, 2015). Bartone's Miami lawyer, Ben Cohen, was brother of Sam Cohen, a partner in the famous S&G bookmaking syndicate in Miami Beach. Ben also received a \$2 million loan from the Teamster pension fund (McClellan Hearings, 19097).

94: “As the CIA had learned several days before the climax, Morgan was a Cuban double agent, luring Trujillo and Abbes into Castro's trap.”

A few days after his double cross, Morgan called FBI agent Leman Stafford Jr., who had interviewed him previously, to apologize “for what he claimed was his inability to furnish the true details regarding the purpose of his previous visits to Miami, Florida. . . . He explained that he was not going to ‘sell out Cuba’ where he had so many friends who were loyal to him.” He admitted receiving more than \$400,000 from Ferrando, and said he turned over \$78,000 to the

Cuban government. Report by SA Stafford, Miami, August 26, 1959, NARA 124-90136-10159. It remains uncertain whether Morgan planned his double cross from the start, or only after his partner Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo threatened to expose the Dominican plan to Castro.

95: “Ardura purchased the hotel from Miami Beach investor Sam Kay, a friend and business partner of Trafficante and other mobsters.”

One organized crime expert described Kay as “an almost legendary moneyman.” Messick, *Secret File*, 18. Kay leased land in Miami Beach to three hotels owned by Lansky front man Morris Lansburgh (the Casablanca, Crown, and Deauville); “Miami Brief for Attorney General’s Criminal Intelligence Conference, Washington, D.C., October 10–11, 1962,” NARA 124-10194-10182.

Another reported investor in the hotel was Orlando Piedra. The FBI heard that he “received payoffs from the gambling interests in Cuba during his time as Chief of the Department of Investigations of the Cuban National Police, which post he held until the fall of the government of ex-Cuban president Fulgencio Batista, on January 1, 1959.” Piedra was said to have been in touch with Rothman in 1958 regarding the disposition of counterfeit US twenty-dollar bills (report by SA Thomas H. Errion, September 30, 1960, re Orlando Eleno Piedra, NARA 124-10280-10171).

Some accounts suggest that Ardura was fronting for his friend General Roberto Fernández y Miranda, Batista’s brother-in-law, who in turn was fronting for Batista himself. According to one report, Fernández was given \$2 million by his sister Marta, Batista’s wife, to buy the hotel (FBI report by George E. Davis Jr., Miami, April 15, 1960, re “Roberto Ramiro Fernandez Miranda,” NARA 124-10291-10400).

96: “All he needed from Trujillo was \$300,000.”

Bartone showed up at Pawley’s office with a Georgia arms merchant, Mitchell WerBell III, who arrived in Ciudad Trujillo in late 1960, likely as part of a CIA covert operation (“he was the master armorer of the CIA’s silent-kill operations, the chief engineer of silencers, assassination rifles, exotic bombs, and other accoutrements of ‘executive action,’” wrote Andrew St. George in “How the CIA Blew Away Trujillo,” *Swank*, October 1975, 83).

Bartone’s past finally caught up with him in June 1962, when he surrendered to federal authorities in Miami after his probation was revoked for the May 1959 arms seizure at Miami International Airport. The government accused him of consorting with Edward Browder on an illicit, \$110,000 arms deal with Honduras (“Convicted Gun Smuggler Bartone Back to Face Munitions Charge,” *Fort Lauderdale News*, June 10, 1962; FBI report of Laurier C. Buteau, Miami, September 18, 1962, re James Riddle Hoffa et al., NARA 124-10287-10330).

96: “De Moya claimed he turned down the offer, but he continued meeting with mobsters and schemers who claimed they could help Trujillo punish Castro.”

The day after Bartone made his pitch, de Moya introduced Pawley to another unsavory character who wanted \$50,000 to set up a plant in the Dominican Republic to counterfeit Cuban currency. Joseph Merola was a jewel and fur thief from Pittsburgh who moved to Miami in 1956 to help Rothman supervise the Mannarino crime family’s slot machines in Cuba. As a sideline, he dabbled with Rothman in gunrunning to various Caribbean revolutionaries. He was arrested for smuggling the king of Havana’s slot machines, Batista’s brother-in-law general Roberto Fernández y Miranda, into the United States after the revolution. At the time he pitched his counterfeiting plan to de Moya and Pawley, Merola was free on \$50,000 bond after being convicted with Rothman and four others in the Ohio National Guard armory theft case. Merola would later become a government witness against Rothman and San Mannarino in the Canadian stolen bond case. SAC, Miami, to FBI Director, April 29, 1960, re “Anti-Fidel Castro Activities,” NARA 124-10221-10094; report by SA C. Graham Hurst, Miami, June 29, 1959, re Joseph Raymond Merola, NARA 124-90101-10070; “Border Patrol Arrests Batista Brother-in-Law,” *St. Petersburg Times*, June 25, 1959; “Convicted of Gun-Running,” *New York Times*, February 5, 1960; “Mannarino, Canada Crime Chief Linked,” *Pittsburgh Press*, February 24, 1962; Warren Hinckle and William Turner, *The Fish Is Red: The Story of the Secret War against Castro* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), 183.

Miami Beach financier Sam Kay described Merola as “definitely a hoodlum and a gangster” and named him as a suspect in an attempt to blow up Kay’s house with dynamite in 1958. SA Leman Stafford Jr. report, Miami, April 5, 1959, re Panamanian Revolutionary Activities, NARA 124-90110-10101.

By the early 1960s, having received clemency from President Kennedy for his arms smuggling conviction, Merola began reporting to the CIA on revolutionary activities in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Nicaragua. Memo from Maurice A. Sovern to John K. Greaney, special assistant to CIA general counsel, re Joseph Merola, April 8, 1977, NARA 1993.07.20.17:04:51:210590, and CIA Domestic Collection Division file on Merola, NARA 1994.05.17.08:24:18:250005.

An incorrigible thief, Merola would be implicated in several jewel robberies in Los Angeles in the early 1970s, while serving as a federal drug informant to win immunity from prosecution. Thomas Dolan, “Hazy Portrait of Illinois’ Top Stoolie,” *Chicago Sun Times*, December 19, 1976.

For background on the Mannarino-Rothman-Ardura slot machine business in Cuba, see report of SA Richard Gordon Douce, Pittsburgh, June 24, 1958, re Samuel Mannarino, NARA 124-10214-10225. A contemporary account reported: “The slot machines, one of the most profitable of all forms of gambling, are known to be the special province of President Batista’s brother-in-law, Roberto Fernández y Miranda, who is an army general and government sports director. Fernández y Miranda has a monopoly on the slots which gives him half of all the profits raked in by every machine in Cuba . . . he also gets the major share of every nickel dropped into Havana parking meters. At the present rate of operations these little privileges are worth somewhere

between \$5 million and \$10 million a year, perhaps even more.” Ernest Havemann, “Mobsters Move in on Troubled Havana and Split Rich Gambling Profits with Batista,” *Life*, March 10, 1958, 36.

98: “On his return, Smathers publicly praised the Dominican dictator’s willingness to hold elections.”

For later developments regarding Smathers and Pawley, see McKeever, *The Galíndez Case*, Kindle locations 4616–52. Pawley had previously joined the head of the CIA’s Western Hemisphere Division, Colonel King, on a failed mission in December 1958 to persuade Batista to turn over power to a military junta. “Memorandum for the Record,” April 22, 1961, re “First Meeting of General Maxwell Taylor’s Board of Inquiry on Cuban Operations Conducted by CIA,” *FRUS, 1961–1963, X, Cuba*, document 169. In early December 1959, Pawley met with Trujillo and the exiled Cuban general José Eleuterio Pedraza to discuss Washington’s support for creation of an anti-Castro force under Pedraza’s command. Nixon at the time was pressing hard for a major covert program to overthrow Castro. However, CIA director Allen Dulles told Pawley that the agency would not support Trujillo’s schemes. John Newman, *Countdown to Darkness* (North Charleston, SC: CreateSpace, 2017), Kindle location 1338.

98: “By the spring of 1960, President Eisenhower was largely sold on replacing Trujillo with a military junta that would hold elections.”

Pawley and Smathers met with President Eisenhower on May 13, 1960, to urge him to leave the dictator alone while he organized elections. The president agreed, telling the State Department to stop fomenting regional opposition to Trujillo. But just weeks later Eisenhower approved organizing a provisional government that the United States could support with troops “if need should arise.” In August 1960, Rebozo begged Vice President Nixon to intervene with the State Department to improve relations with “this country that has always been so friendly to us.” In November 1960, shortly after Kennedy’s election victory, President Eisenhower dispatched Pawley one last time to plead with Trujillo to leave the country, but the dictator replied angrily, “I’ll never go out of here unless I go out on a stretcher.” Carrozza, *William D. Pawley*, 282–86; Hall, *Sugar and Power*, 102; Rebozo letter to Nixon, August 30, 1960, in “Rebozo, Charles G.” folder, box 622, Series 320, Nixon papers, Nixon Library.

99: “The United States downgraded its embassy to a consulate.”

Washington formally broke relations on August 26. William Pawley expressed outrage over the condemnation of Trujillo—a “true friend” of the United States—by the OAS and Eisenhower administration. Carrozza, *William D. Pawley*, 238–39.

99: “However, Trujillo rallied his friends in Congress to keep his windfall.”

Prominent among those friends was Senator Ellender, who was enjoying the charms of a prostitute provided by the Dominican dictator, and Senator Johnston of South Carolina, who was on Trujillo's payroll. On the House side, the chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, Rep. Harold Cooley, and the vice chairman, Rep. W. R. Poage (D-Tex.), who had accepted an all-expenses-paid junket to the Dominican Republic from Trujillo, both warned that pushing the dictator out could leave the country in even worse hands. Eisenhower finally acceded to raising the Dominican sugar quota, but he imposed a special tariff to wipe out the windfall, which otherwise would have totaled almost \$170 million over two years. Tad Szulc, "Secret Trujillo Papers Disclose Intense Sugar Lobbying in U.S.," *New York Times*, July 3, 1962; Hall, *Sugar and Power*, 98–101; Aragon Storm Miller, *Precarious Paths to Freedom: The United States, Venezuela, and the Latin American Cold War* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016), 58; "Second Sugar Bill," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 1960; "Cuba, Dominican Republic Penalized by Sugar Act," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 1961. The windfall from Cuba's loss of quota rights increased the Dominican Republic's normal quota of 131,000 tons by 321,857 tons.

101: "The North American public, however, was steadily fed reassuring news of the regime's democratic intentions, courtesy of Igor Cassini."

William Stadiem (*Jet Set*, 176-77) describes Cassini's role in this critical transition period:

Igor Cassini was never concerned that death might stop the Trujillos. The night of the coup, the first person called by CIA chief Allen Dulles was his golfing partner Cassini, who he believed knew more about the island than any other American. Cassini told Dulles to rest easy. The Dominican Republic would be business as usual. Nothing would change except for the better.

[Porfirio] Rubirosa redonned his old diplomat hat and became the official spokesman for this new version of the ancient régime. Giving him a forum in the Hearst paper was none other than Igor Cassini, who adored putting aside his Cholly Knickerbocker chores for this more august Joseph Alsop routine. . . . Rubirosa assured Cassini, hence the world, that the political prisoners would soon be freed, the dictatorship was over, and American-style democracy was nearly at hand.

It was the baldest display of insincere public relations imaginable, but it was enough to allow Cassini to transcend Trujillo's death and secure for [his Bahaman public relations subsidiary] Martial a fat new secret three-year contract between the new Dominican regime and his shell corporation Inter American to continue working for the banana republic [sic]. The fee was \$120,000 for the first year, a hefty sum in 1961, with annual increases, plus a big bonus as soon as the Americans and the Dominicans resumed diplomatic relations.

Rubirosa, who allegedly got a finder's fee for getting Cassini this contract, cut his own deal with Ramfis—who had effectively assumed his father's dictatorship—that would net Rubi a cool \$250,000 the moment Washington removed the country from the OAS blacklist. . . . To

cement the deal, Rubirosa's shuttle diplomacy took him on several Kennedy–Rat Pack yacht trips, one to the Riviera, another off the New England coast.

102–3: “Ambassador Martin called Bosch’s government ‘one of the most dollar-honest governments in the Republic’s history,’ but noted that ‘slot machines spread to remote areas of the Republic, as they had under Trujillo. . . . At one point known racketeers from Chicago and Las Vegas tried to move in.’”

Following a visit to Washington by Bosch at the end of 1962, one of President Kennedy’s assistants complained that the new Dominican leader was well-meaning but out of his depth. Memorandum from the President’s Special Assistant (Dungan) to President Kennedy, January 10, 1963, *FRUS, 1961–1963, XII, American Republics*, document 352. CIA assessments of Bosch described him as vain but “immensely likeable, with a real flair for dealing with people.” They also identified him as a representative of the “reformist, nationalistic, democratic left.” Eric Thomas Chester, *Rag-Tags, Scum, Riff-Raff, and Commies: The U.S. Intervention in the Dominican Republic, 1965–1966* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 18. Charges of Communist infiltration were leveled against Bosch’s government by an American reporter frequently used by the CIA, Hal Hendrix of Scripps-Howard. Ironically, as Chester explores in some detail, one of Bosch’s closest confidants was CIA agent and political organizer Sacha Volman. It would appear that the CIA was split between liberal and right-wing factions that could not agree on Bosch’s suitability. Draper cites reports that Pentagon officials gave the green light to military plotters who overthrew Bosch in September 1963, undercutting State Department policy.

103: “In Cuba, Levine had owned the Oriental Park racetrack and its gambling casino in partnership with three prominent East Coast mobsters.”

The East Coast mobsters were Pennsylvania Mafia boss Russell Bufalino and New York hoodlums James Plumeri and Salvatore Granello. This crew of racketeers had attended the notorious underworld confab in Apalachin, New York, in 1957. They were also implicated in Teamster union pension fund kickbacks with Jimmy Hoffa and Gabriel Mannarino. Burnishing their patriotic credentials, they provided information on Cuba to the CIA to help it prepare for the Bay of Pigs invasion. Report by SA Eugene J. Hines, New York, December 28, 1962, re “Salvatore Granello,” NARA 124-90066-10170; FBI report by Eugene J. Hines, New York, June 27, 1962, re “Salvatore Granello,” NARA 124-90066-10093; Dan Moldea, *The Hoffa Wars*, 129–30; Walter Sheridan, *The Fall and Rise of Jimmy Hoffa* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972), 529. On this Mafia team’s alleged work for the CIA in 1960–1961, see Paul Meskil, “How U.S. Made Unholy Alliance with the Mafia,” *New York Daily News*, April 23, 1975; Denny Walsh, “Mafia Passed CIA Data for ‘Bay of Pigs,’” *Sacramento Bee*, June 1, 1975; “CIA: Mafia Spies in Cuba,” *Time*, June 9, 1975; CIA memo by Jerrold B. Brown for Inspector General, July 1, 1975, re “Possible Questionable Activity,” NARA 104-10119-10002. On Bufalino’s alleged involvement in “manufacturing and shipping arms to Cuba to build an army to

fight Castro,” see FBI report, March 3, 1961, “Russell Alfred Bufalino,” NARA 124-10293-10378. Levine and Granello also ran the gambling concession at Havana’s Sevilla Biltmore Hotel, which was owned by one of Cuba’s leading numbers racketeers and suspected heroin traffickers, Congressman Amletto Battisti (report by Stephen J. Labadie, Miami, January 15, 1959, re Santo Trafficante Jr., NARA 124-10204-10137; Cirules, *The Mafia in Havana*, 32, 115; Douglas Thompson, *Mafialand: How the Mob Invaded Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2014), 114). In 1956, Levine and Granello transferred management of the Oriental Park Race Track to Lawrence Birrell, who fled to Cuba in 1957 to avoid an SEC subpoena (FBI report by Guy C. Berado, December 29, 1958, re Salvatore Granello, NARA 124-10305-10021). Birrell became known as “the most notorious stock swindler of the 1950s” and “perhaps the leading wrecker of corporations and deluder of investors in the postwar era,” according to former SEC attorney Arthur Liman (Arthur Liman and Peter Israel, *Lawyer: A Life of Counsel and Controversy* (New York: Public Affairs, 1998), 49–51; cf. Homer Bigart, “Birrell Ends Exile of 7 Years,” *New York Times*, April 24, 1964; Herbert Brean, “A Master Rogue Unmasked,” *Life*, July 20, 1959). Birrell was implicated in a tax evasion case with Granello stemming from their days in Cuba (*United States v. Salvatore Granello, A/K/A Sally Burns, and Hyman Levine, A/K/A George Levine*, 365 F.2d 990 [2d Cir. 1966]). An FBI informant (likely Herbert Itkin) claimed that as late as 1963 Granello was sending Birrell, then a fugitive in Brazil, \$300 a month in living expenses (FBI memo, “Salvatore Granello,” April 10, 1963, NARA 124-90066-10212). Granello, who had a history of raping underage girls, had a falling out with New York Mafia boss Thomas Eboli in 1969 and was murdered in September 1970. Toby Rogers, *The Ganja Godfather: The Untold Story of NYC’s Weed Kingpin* (Walterville, OR: Trine Day, 2015); FBI report by SA Paul J. Stapleton, New York, December 16, 1970, re “Salvatore Granello (Deceased),” NARA 124-90066-10122.

103: “One of these gamblers told the FBI in May 1963 that ‘the threat of possible war involving that country would discourage most people from investing a substantial amount of money necessary to finance a gambling proposition in Santo Domingo.’”

The latter document also notes the interest of Joseph Indelicato (a member of the Bonanno crime family) in the casino at the Ambassador Hotel in Santo Domingo. Tourine, a former operator of Trafficante’s Hotel Capri casino in Havana, had allegedly joined Salvatore Granello and Sam Mannarino in CIA-backed plots to assassinate Fidel Castro in 1960 or 1961; Paul Meskil, “How U.S. Made Unholy Alliance with the Mafia,” *New York Daily News*, April 23, 1975.

With the idealistic Bosch installed as president, members of Levine’s group saw opportunities to use the Dominican Republic as a base from which to plot the ouster of neighboring dictator François Duvalier, Haiti’s grisly answer to Trujillo. The Mafia’s conspiracy with pro-American Haitian exile Louis Déjoie took place under the auspices of the newly elected president of the Dominican Republic, Juan Bosch. Bosch had spent much of his adult life in exile, plotting revolutionary conspiracies around the Caribbean with fellow democrats, including José Figueres of Costa Rica and Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela, both of whom succeeded dictators to become presidents of their respective countries. (A young Fidel Castro joined Bosch and other

intriguers—who became known informally as the Caribbean Legion—for an attempted invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1947.) They were violently challenged in turn by an alliance of dictators and right-wing activists from Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Venezuela, led by Trujillo. This counterrevolutionary network foreshadowed the infamous Condor network among military regimes in South America in the mid-1970s. Moulton, “Building Their Own Cold War in Their Own Backyard”; Ameringer, *Caribbean Legion*; report from American Embassy, Havana, to Secretary of State, October 17, 1947, “Plot to Invade the Dominican Republic,” available at http://www.cuban-exile.com/doc_151-175/doc0156.html.

They were less interested in human rights than in criminal profits, however. In 1963, Granello and Plumeri made contact in Santo Domingo with Déjoie, a former Haitian presidential candidate, oil producer, and sugar plantation owner who fled his country in 1958 to avoid arrest or murder at the hands of the Duvalier regime. He had spent the last several years looking for opportunities to overthrow Duvalier. Déjoie’s supporters were competing with a rival team of exiles connected to Santo Trafficante and a group of Canadian gamblers. Report by SA Joseph P. McCann, Miami, April 8, 1963, re “Roger Rigaud,” NARA 124-10217-10070; Déjoie “Election Loser Flees Haiti, Tells of Six-Month Nightmare,” *Jet*, May 29, 1958; “Haiti to Try Louis Dejoie in Absentia,” *Jet*, December 4, 1958; “Dejoie Charges His Death Was Plotted,” *Jet*, February 5, 1959; Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 168.

Déjoie’s followers solicited cash from private American backers in return for “the gambling casino concession after victory.” But the old team of Granello, Plumeri, Levine, and Bufalino had even loftier ambitions: After assassinating Duvalier and replacing him with Déjoie, they planned to use Haiti as a base from which to retake Cuba and restore their gambling interests in Havana. But the mobsters could not afford the \$500,000 that one well-placed Haitian contact wanted to arrange Duvalier’s assassination. The Kennedy administration was rooting for their success, but when the scheme bogged down, the FBI and CIA directed an undercover agent who was financing the conspirators to back out. FBI memo, April 17, 1963, re Salvatore Granello, NARA 124-90066-10214; FBI report by Eugene J. Hindes, New York, January 26, 1962, re “Salvatore Granello,” NARA 124-10305-10027; memo from SAC, New York, to Director, FBI, April 8, 1963, re “Criminal Informant,” NARA 124-90066-10210; FBI memo, “Possible Revolt in Haiti,” April 10, 1963, NARA 124-90066-10212; FBI memo, May 28, 1963, re “Haiti,” NARA 124-90066-10220; SAC New York to Director, FBI, May 28, 1963, NARA 124-90066-10220; Alex Von Tunzelmann, *Red Heat: Conspiracy, Murder, and the Cold War in the Caribbean* (New York: Henry Holt, 2011), 135, 302. Granello made several calls to Miami Beach mobster Jack Friedlander, who ran a hotel and casino in Haiti; Friedlander was also a former Miami bookmaker and front man for New Jersey mob boss Abner Zwillman (FBI memo, April 13, 1954, NY 94-419, in FBI FOIA releases on Zwillman).

The undercover agent was Herbert Itkin, who later became the key government witness in a Teamster pension fund kickback prosecution of ten Mafia members, including Salvatore Granello, James Plumeri, and Gabriel Mannarino (Edward Ranzal, “10 Linked to Mafia Indicted in Kickback,” *New York Times*, July 24, 1969; Herbert Itkin’s CIA debriefing tapes, n.d., NARA

104-10106-10321 and NARA 104-10106-10322; memo for Chief, CIA Counterintelligence Staff, re “Herbert Itkin File,” November 1, 1977, CIA release 1993.08.15.10:22:08:980059; CIA memo, October 1, 1969, “Itkin, Herbert,” CIA release 1993.07.20.16:48:10:000340). The latter document notes the involvement of A&P Supermarket heir Huntington Hartford, who was attempting to develop gambling in the Bahamas at the time.

Also involved in the Haiti plot was Bernard Spindel, a shadowy New York private detective who claimed to know where Duvalier had hidden \$7 million in gold bullion in Puerto Rico (FBI memo, April 10, 1963, “Bernard Spindel,” NARA 124-90066-10212; unsigned CIA memo, “Record from our own Reporting,” NARA 104-10107-10098).

104: “(Gener had arranged Trafficante’s release from jail in Cuba in 1959 and later smuggled poison pills into Cuba for a CIA-backed plot to assassinate Castro.)”

Two of Trafficante’s other local agents were Evaristo Garcia Vidal, a Florida gambler who would jump bail and flee to Costa Rica in 1969, and Eugenio Leal, a notorious dealer in counterfeit US currency. Evaristo Garcia had been Trafficante’s partner in the Hotel Deauville Casino and a “*bolita* banker” in prerevolutionary Havana. He was also a former partner of Fredesvindo Bosque Cueto, a figure in the Trujillo-Morgan plot, in the Havana Madrid Jai Alai fronton (report by Stephen J. Labadie, Miami, January 15, 1959, re “Santo Trafficante, Jr.,” NARA 124-10204-10137).

104: “A Miami hotel operator and baseball stadium owner, Alemán was the son of a former Cuban education minister who had been ousted in 1947 for conspiring with Bosch, then a young revolutionary, to overthrow Trujillo.”

Bosch began organizing his first insurrection against Trujillo in 1945. President Grau of Cuba sympathized with Bosch and provided military support to his organization. “Eufemio Fernández, the Chief of Police of Havana, was openly devoted to the exile cause and was one of the most hotly idealistic of its partisans. . . . Large amounts of armaments were stored on the private estate of José Alemán, and many of the expeditionaries were carried on the payroll of the Ministry of Education. . . . Considerable assistance was lent by Manolo Castro, Director of Sports for the Cuban Government, who was later indicted for illicit arms smuggling out of the United States.” Pressure from the Dominican Republic and United States convinced the Cuban government to reverse course. However, the Cuban idealists regrouped under the banner of the Caribbean Legion to support the democratic cause of José Figueres in Costa Rica. Crassweller, *Trujillo*, 237–40; Ameringer, *Caribbean Legion*, 36–50.

106: “Cooper was convicted in 1961 of income tax evasion stemming from a scam with Rafael Trujillo Jr. involving a fraudulent sale of forty-two P-51 fighter planes to the Dominican Republic.”

The Dominican agent and Trujillo friend with whom Cooper handled the arms deal, Enrique Garcia Jr., also worked with Irving Davidson to sell arms from the Dominican Republic to the Indonesian police in 1956. Davidson was a registered agent for Indonesian armed forces. CIA dispatch from Chief, Far East Division, October 6, 1958, NARA 104-10216-10075.

108: “Citing that bogus menace, along with the threat to American lives, President Johnson sent 23,000 US soldiers to the Dominican Republic to reinstall the military junta and prevent the former elected president from regaining power.”

Lowenthal rejects the Johnson administration’s hollow claim that it sent troops to save lives and prevent a Communist takeover, noting that “American troops were actually aligning themselves with Dominican forces who were taking lives, even committing atrocities, who had deprived the Dominican people of their freely chosen government by overthrowing it in 1963, and whose determination to thwart the attempted restoration of the 1963 constitutional regime accounted for the 1965 crisis.” (*The Dominican Intervention*, 2)

During the revolt, FBI Director Hoover reported to the White House that Sam Giancana was working with associates to import slot machines and organize gambling casinos in the DR “to be under the control of the Chicago underworld. [Information] also indicates that Giancana is negotiating with five or six contending groups in order to assure that he will be able to successfully carry out his plans with the group which will ultimately win control of the Dominican Republic.” The FBI’s informant added that “Giancana [was] somewhat apprehensive over which group is to take control of government, feeling that they may have to do business with five or six groups before one becomes strong enough to control country.” Quoted in Antoinette Giancana and Thomas Renner, *Mafia Princess* (New York: William Morrow, 1984), 205-6.

109: “Davidson intimated to Dominican officials that he had the ear of the White House, and of President Johnson himself.”

Cuban exile Julio Aton Constanzo Palau informed the CIA that Davidson, acting at the request of President Johnson, was actively recruiting Cuban exiles in the summer of 1965 to fight rebel forces on Balaguer’s behalf. Davidson denied the claim. FBI correlation summary, July 30, 1969, “I. Irving Davidson,” NARA 124-10302-10106; FBI report, Miami, June 15, 1965, re “Anton Constanzo Palau,” NARA 104-10218-10281; CIA cable, June 11, 1965, re “Recruitment of Cuban Exiles by Anton Constanzo Palau to Join Ranks of the Forces of General Imbert and General Wessin y Wessin,” NARA 104-10273-10117. An FBI official called the informants “unreliable” and “irresponsible.” Memorandum by W. R. Wannall to William Sullivan, April 13, 1966, NARA 124-10303-10005; see also memorandum from FBI Director Hoover to Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Security, August 4, 1965, NARA 124-10214-10495.

109: “Unlike Bosch, this long-lived Dominican leader understood the importance of cultivating powerful allies in the United States, including members of the underworld.”

It should be noted, however, that Zicarelli’s underworld colleague, hit man Harold Konigsberg, regarded Balaguer as “an honorable and honest man” who suffered from excessive idealism. Konigsberg said Balaguer turned down a proposition to return him to the Dominican Republic to become president in exchange for giving the Mafia killer a ranch, a plywood factory, and two hotels. Balaguer told him, “I cannot give you anything which belongs to the government or the people.” Interview with Konigsberg by FBI special agents Charles Donnelly and Paul Durkin, July 21, 1965, NARA 124-10348-10067.

Chapter 5

115: “Baker’s main partner in Serv-U was a \$200,000-a-year “management consultant” (lobbyist) for North American Aviation Corp. named Fred Black Jr.”

Another of Serv-U’s organizers was Eugene Hancock, a Miami vending machine operator and key supporter of Senator Smathers. Hancock had tried to persuade former Smathers aide Scott Peek to join his company, Automatic Vending Service Inc., which won a big contract to serve the space center at Cape Canaveral. Hancock’s partners were Grant Stockdale, former administrative aide to Smathers, and Walter Jernigan, who was secretary of the nascent Smathers-for-President movement in 1960 (Hancock testimony, Bobby Baker hearings, 715; “The Story of Bebe Rebozo: The Making of a Millionaire,” *Newsday*, October 6, 1971; Sherrill, *Gothic Politics*, 176). Senate Rules Committee member Carl Curtis wanted to hear testimony from Jernigan, who acted as a front man for Baker’s purchase of a Washington town house used to shelter Baker’s secretary and mistress, Carole Tyler (Bobby Baker hearings, 885, 2086, 2216). Curtis also wanted to hear from Serv-U’s labor consultant, Teamster business agent Mike Singer, whom he called an “underworld character.” Singer was an investor with Baker, Black, casino owners Ed Levinson and Cliff Jones, and international money launderer John Pullman in the Honolulu-based Waikiki Savings & Loan Assn. Curtis statement in Bobby Baker hearings, 2216; William R. Armstrong testimony, Bobby Baker hearings, 1247–48; Al Delugach, “Alaska Mystery,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 26, 1971.

126: “Cooper was a business partner of Lansky and point holder in the Flamingo hotel-casino in Las Vegas, with a 1961 conviction for income tax evasion.”

Cooper was a co-investor in a Flagler dog track, reputedly with Lansky or former Havana casino manager Norman Rothman, and was secretly filmed meeting with Lansky as late as 1974 (John Arnold, “Lansky’s Ex-Auditor May Run MIA Hotel,” *Miami Herald*, May 7, 1981; also *Miami Herald*, March 27, 1977; memo from Lt. R. Sommerhoff, supervisor, Vice Investigation Section, to Commander S. Bertucelli, Organized Crime Bureau, “Synopsis of Mall Case,” March 25, 1978, in Alan Block papers; memo from Dougald D. McMillan, chief, Miami Strike Force, to

William S. Lynch, chief, Organized Crime & Racketeering Section, Justice, 5/23/74, Alan Block papers).

127: “Comptroller of the Currency James J. Saxon authorized it to do business in 1962, less than a month after he was confirmed by the Senate.”

One of the bank’s directors, the wealthy newspaper publisher Arthur Arundel, was the son of Pepsi bottler Russell Arundel, discussed in chapter 2. Among the journalists who owned shares in the bank was Benjamin Bradlee, chief of *Newsweek*’s Washington bureau. Jack Anderson, who wrote a spirited defense of the bank, reportedly received some “complimentary” shares in the bank (Jack Anderson, “Baker the Target but Banker Is Hit,” *Detroit Free Press*, April 7, 1964; *Washington Observer Newsletter*, November 1, 1968).

127: “It advertised to select clients the benefits of its secret, Swiss-style accounts, ‘with the additional advantage of freedom from taxation which the Swiss banks do not enjoy.’”

A Justice Department informant also named Multer as the brains behind a mob-linked horse race sweepstakes. Multer allegedly planned to siphon the proceeds into a foundation he established in the Bahamas. FBI memo, October 2, 1961, re “Pan American Foundation, Limited,” NARA 124-90110-10124.

129: ““But Federal Judge Emmett Choate ruled that the United States has no right to examine the records of a British bank in the Bahamas.””

Pearson noted that “The Guarantee Trust official who arranged for the deposit [of the counterfeit bonds] was Hyman Green, who also happens to be an officer of the Honeymoon Isle Development Corp. which has borrowed \$4 million from the Teamsters. . . . Green asked the Bank of Miami Beach to check the bonds. The latter, after being given one of the bonds reported that it was genuine, and from the inspection of this one bond it was concluded that the others were also genuine. Later, Green and Marroso showed up at a friend’s house with the suitcase full of Ohio turnpike bonds and asked him to hold them. . . . The FBI still isn’t sure whether San Soucie or Marroso originally acquired the bonds. Marroso, who has a police record and a tight lip, isn’t talking.” Note that Multer made a large and quick profit on his involvement in Honeymoon Isle, a Murchison partnership. Bank of Miami Beach, as noted elsewhere, was a notorious mob front.

San Souci, had supported a Teamster pension fund loan to Dominick Bartone, the trafficker in arms and aircraft to Cuba and the Dominican Republic in the late 1950s (Sheridan, *The Fall and Rise of Jimmy Hoffa*, 76–79, 111–12, 199–200). Irving Davidson told the FBI that he knew the “wheeler and dealer” San Souci “quite well,” let the Teamster official use his office on K Street, and even gave him an Israeli Uzi submachine gun (FBI memo, SAC Washington Metropolitan Field Office to Director, May 11, 1961, re “I. Irving Davidson Registration Act-Nicaragua-

Israel,” NARA 124-10214-10444; FBI report by SA Gerard Carroll, June 14, 1961, “I. Irving Davidson,” NARA 124-10214-10420). After his death, San Souci was replaced on the board of Bank of World Commerce by former Los Angeles Teamster official Mike Singer, who invested with Bobby Baker in the Waikiki Savings & Loan Assn. FBI report by Frank H. Townsend, March 1, 1962, “Crime Conditions in the Los Angeles Division,” NARA 124-10328-10003.

129: “Johnson caught an early break upon becoming president, however, when Baker hired a brilliant new defense counsel, Edward Bennett Williams.”

In an odd coincidence, Baker reached out to hire Williams through businessman Nate Dolin, who was indicted in 1969 for dealings with International Credit Bank of Geneva. Baker, *Wheeling and Dealing*, 186; “Realty Equity Official, Others Indicted on Charges Tied to Sale of Firm’s Notes,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 14, 1969. Dolin was acquitted of his perjury charge by the judge on grounds of insufficient evidence. Baker knew Nate Dolin through his son Fred, who had been a Senate page; Fred Dolin later became a controversial lead investor along with corrupt Cleveland Teamster boss Jackie Presser in a firm called Cheyenne Software. James Bernstein, “New Products Buoy Software Maker,” *Newsday*, August 13, 1990; Tina Grant and Thomas Derdak, *International Directory of Company Histories*, v. 12 (St. James Press, 1996), 60.

130: “Johnson also rallied his supporters in Congress to curtail the Baker investigation.”

In a sensational story that deserves little credence, former lobbyist Robert N. Winter-Berger claimed to have witnessed a visit by President Johnson in early 1964 to the office of House Speaker John McCormack. “If that cocksucker talks, I’m gonna land in jail,” Johnson allegedly said. “Tell Bobby that I will give him a million dollars if he takes this rap. Bobby must not talk.” Robert N. Winter-Berger, *The Washington Pay-Off: An Insider’s View of Corruption* (Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, 1972), 65–66, 69.

132: “Baker and Aguirre were interested in purchasing a trailer park site and a housing subdivision project.”

One of Mafia boss Carlos Marcello’s closest associates, convicted narcotics dealer Nofio Pecora, was in the trailer park business on Mentour Highway in East New Orleans. His wife, Frances, was reputed to be “one of the most powerful political figures in the State of Louisiana.” She chaired the fire division of the Louisiana Insurance Commission, was a close friend of Gov. John McKeithen, and “bragged also about how well she knew United States Senator Russell Long.” FBI report by SA Harold V. Hughes, August 8, 1973, “Nofio Pecora,” NARA 124-90093-10085; FBI report by SA Clement J. Hood, July 6, 1965, “Nofio Pecora,” NARA 124-90093-10057.

132: “Popich also accompanied Baker, Aguirre, and Abraham in July 1963 to attend Floyd Patterson’s boxing rematch with the mob-controlled heavyweight fighter Sonny Liston in Las Vegas.”

Liston knocked out the former world champion in only 126 seconds in their first match in Chicago on September 25, 1962. He and Patterson fought their rematch at the Las Vegas Convention Center on July 22, 1963. This time Patterson lasted 130 seconds. Joe Nichols, “Liston Halts Patterson in First and Retains Heavyweight Title,” *New York Times*, July 23, 1963. An internal FBI report four days before the match declared that at least three of the nation’s top mobsters “have had a direct or indirect interest in Liston’s earnings” and two others “were largely responsible for launching his career in the professional ring.” It concluded, “whatever happens after July 22, there appears to be little doubt that a number of members of La Causa [sic] Nostra have made a tidy profit out of the rock-fisted ex-convict from St. Louis.” FBI Criminal Intelligence Digest, “The Story of a Heavyweight,” July 18, 1963, NARA 124-10220-10084.

Chapter 6

145: “The secret distribution of untaxed casino cash to Catena was organized by Bobby Baker’s business partners, Edward Levinson and Benjamin Sigelbaum.”

Reflecting the coziness of this tight-knit circle, Lansky’s, Catena’s, and Levinson’s gambler friend Samuel Garfield bought another Murchison energy company, Franklin County Coal Corp., as part of a huge stock fraud conspiracy prosecuted by the federal government in the early 1960s. Among those implicated in the fraud were Satiris Fassoulis (chapter 3), and Alexander Guterman (chapter 4). *United States of America, Appellee, v. Virgil D. Dardi, Robert B. Gravis, Charles Rosenthal and Charles Berman, Defendants-appellants*, 330 F.2d 316 (2d Cir. 1964); Ed Cony, “Case of 5 Accused of Fraud in Sale of United Day Stock Nears Climax,” *Wall Street Journal*, January 23, 1963; Turner, *Gambler’s Money*, 213–14; T. A. Wise, *The Insiders* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962), 145–52.

145: “Moldea also described the younger Murchison as a “close friend” of Dallas restaurant owner and sports gambler Joseph Campisi.”

Clint Murchison Jr. was a partner in the Dallas/Fort Worth Airport Bank with Herman K. Beebe, who ran a banking, insurance, and nursing home empire out of Shreveport, Louisiana. Marcello was reportedly a client of one of Beebe’s Louisiana banks. Beebe was found guilty of fraud in 1985 and again in 1988. Bill Lodge and Allen Pusey, “Beebe’s Network Casts Long Shadow in Thrift Industry,” *Dallas Morning News*, December 23, 1988; Stephen Pizzo, Mary Fricker, and Paul Muolo, *Inside Job: The Looting of America’s Savings and Loans* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989), 234–58.

147: “In 1961, Murchison’s local development partner sold Nixon a prime lot for \$35,000, far below the listed price of \$104,000.”

According to the developer, Nixon lost about a thousand dollars on the home when he sold it two years later to move to New York. Paul Trousdale letter to Hedley Donovan, December 6, 1973, in Trousdale folder, box 184, President’s Personal File, Nixon papers, Nixon Library. Citing claims by senior West Coast Teamster official Ralph Claire, the wife of a senior Hollywood producer informed the Watergate Special Prosecutor that “the Teamsters were building the home for Mr. Nixon, and that every purchase order, even down to nails and doorknobs, was paid for by Union funds. Many of the Teamster members, even in the lower echelons of transportation drivers, seemed to know of this, and it was a standard joke around the movie sets when Mr. Nixon’s name was mentioned.” I know of no corroboration for this story, one of many that swirled around the president during the Watergate era. See Catherine C. Templeton letter to Archibald Cox, September 5, 1973, in CCTF #803 file 1, WSPF files, NARA.

147: “He began working for them in the mid-1950s as a business scout, public relations expert, and ‘fixer.’”

In 1959 and 1960, the Murchisons paid Davidson \$25,000, the single largest fee he reported on his income tax return (FBI report by SA Gerard C. Carroll, Washington Field Office, June 14, 1961, NARA 124-10214-10420). Davidson remained close to the Murchisons for many years. Consider this story from 1980: “Billy Carter told Senate investigators last week that Texas millionaire Clint Murchison [Jr.] tried to enlist his help last year in collecting money that Murchison said was owed to him by the Libyan government. The president’s brother said he couldn’t recall how big a debt was supposedly involved but, according to informed sources, one of his sidekicks, Henry (Randy) Coleman, remembered it as ‘\$200 million or something like that.’ . . . According to Carter, he and several friends of his from Georgia, including Coleman, were Murchison’s guests at last year’s Super Bowl game in Miami, where Murchison’s Dallas Cowboys were playing the Pittsburgh Steelers. Washington lobbyist I. Irving Davidson, who works for Murchison, has asserted that Billy and his friends were his guests, not Murchison’s, and that he invited them only at the request of someone he knew at the White House. . . . As the president’s brother recalled it, the project involved an airfield built for the radical Arab regime. ‘When I say airfield, I mean the complete thing, the barracks and everything else,’ Billy reportedly stated. . . . Davidson has said the only business he has done with Libya involved a ground-to-air communications system that one of Murchison’s companies installed three years ago.” George Lardner Jr., “Billy Relates Request by Murchison for Help in Collecting Libyan Debt,” *Washington Post*, October 2, 1980.

147: “Davidson got to know Hoffa around 1959 through a syndicate-backed Teamster friend in Pittsburgh, Davidson’s birthplace.”

The friend was Jack Armand (Mike Ewing and Ralph Salerno interview with Davidson, November 2, 1978). John C. Armand, formerly known as Armand Carlomagno, was president of

the Teamster-affiliated Taxi Cab Drivers local in Pittsburgh. He was arrested in 1950 for first-degree manslaughter. FBI report, October 31, 1963, "Edward F. Weinheimer," NARA 124-90035-10238; FBI report by Robert L. Schwartz, Cleveland, February 10, 1960, re "Louis 'Babe' Triscaro," NARA 124-90071-10024; FBI report, Pittsburgh, January 14, 1964, "The Pittsburgh Organization or Syndicate," January 14, 1964, NARA 124-10287-10213.

147: "An FBI memo from 1965 noted that Davidson 'has been in contact with known hoodlums; is closely associated with James Hoffa . . . and through him has been able to obtain large loans for individuals and business concerns.'"

The FBI noted that as early as 1950, Davidson, in the company of a notorious hoodlum, Pete Licavoli of Detroit, visited Licavoli's brother Thomas, who was incarcerated in the Ohio State Penitentiary. FBI report from SA Andrew Shannon, September 30, 1958, re "I. Irving Davidson," NARA 124-10221-10327, and memo from G. H. Scatterday to A. Rosen, November 29, 1961, re "Isadore Irving Davidson," NARA 124-10301-10072. Denny Walsh has observed, "Among [Thomas, a/k/a/ Yonnie] Licavoli's parade of visitors, according to witnesses, was Teamster President James Riddle Hoffa. Yonnie's affinity for Teamsters has been a recurrent phenomenon. His chief counsel over the years has been a Teamster lawyer, Moses Krislov of Cleveland. . . . A Washington Teamster-connected lobbyist and wide-swinging public relations man named I. Irving Davidson made a brief but brave try at 'representing' Yonnie in 1949 and 1950. Davidson induced Yonnie to donate \$5,000 to the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation, a pet project of columnist Drew Pearson aimed at furthering research on the sociological aspects of juvenile delinquency. Yonnie's wife, mother and daughter went to Washington to present the check in person to the columnist. Davidson succeeded in persuading Paul Richman, executive secretary and co-founder of the foundation, to visit Ohio and discuss the merits of the Licavoli case with some key officials." See Denny Walsh, "Leniency for a Hoodlum, Slush-Fund Income," *Life*, May 2, 1969, 31. Licavoli's murder sentence was commuted in January 1969 by Ohio governor James Rhodes, who was close to Richard Nixon (Denny Walsh, "The Governor and the Mobster," *Life*, May 2, 1969, 28, 31). Letters disputing Walsh's report were published in *Life*, May 23, 1969, 28A. For a brief description of Pete Licavoli's role in the formation of the Detroit Purple Gang, see Reid, *The Grim Reapers*, 73–79, 84. As noted in chapter 4, Peter Licavoli became a silent partner in the Desert Inn in Las Vegas.

147: "As a lobbyist for Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza and Haitian dictator François Duvalier, and a seller of arms to Batista's Cuba (chapter 4), Davidson was also in a good position to advise the Murchisons on their many investments in the Caribbean."

Davidson "arranged for Murchison's principal corporation, Tecon Corporation, to construct several large military housing projects in Cuba." Moldea, *Interference*, 447n3; also, FBI report on Irving Davidson, correlation summary, July 30, 1969, NARA 124-10302-10106. Davidson also sought to get the Murchisons to invest in a gambling casino in the Hilton Hotel in London; FBI memo from C. A. Evans to Mr. Belmont, May 19, 1964, NARA 124-10301-10048.

152: “That act of political conscience was unusual. Murchison had backed Eisenhower’s run for the presidency in 1952 and helped finance his brother-in-law’s farm in Virginia.”

Drew Pearson was irked when the *Washington Post* spiked his story on Murchison’s gift or loan of a \$65,000 prize stallion to President Eisenhower’s brother-in-law, Col. Gordon Moore, for his Virginia farm. March 18, 1958 entry in Abell, *Drew Pearson Diaries*, 445.

152: “He appointed Robert B. Anderson, a leading Texas oil lobbyist and friend of Murchison, to be secretary of the navy and then Treasury.”

As manager of the vast W. T. Waggoner estate in Vernon, Texas, in the 1930s, Anderson had numerous business dealings with Murchison, who bought oil leases on the property. Anderson also invested in business ventures with Murchison’s former partner and lawyer, Toddie Lee Wynne. “Securities Held by R. B. Anderson, 29 April 1957,” in “Great Southwest Corporation (3)” file, Robert B. Anderson papers, Dwight Eisenhower Library. Anderson was also Texas state racing commissioner in the 1930s, when Murchison and Wynne were buying race horses together.

153: “Bursten, a director of the infamous Miami National Bank, would later help Representative Multer organize a Bahamian bank suspected of handling hot money (chapter 5).”

A former staffer on Wisconsin senator Joseph McCarthy’s investigating committee, Bursten organized a stop-Kennedy movement in the 1960 Wisconsin primary with a \$40,000 war chest provided by Jimmy Hoffa. “Bursten Reported Active in Primary against Kennedy,” *St. Petersburg Times*, September 29, 1960; John Herling, “Hoffa Loan Figure Led Kennedy Hate Campaign,” *Minneapolis Star*, September 30, 1960; “Caladesi Loan Being Probed by U.S. Senate,” *St. Petersburg Times*, October 4, 1960. Webb, Davidson, and Bursten were also involved in a Teamster-financed land development on Honeymoon Isle, west of Tampa, in 1960 (“Investors Seek Interest Benefit from Bursten,” *St. Petersburg Times*, January 27, 1961; FBI SAC, Washington Metropolitan Field Office, to Director, May 22, 1961, NARA 124-10214-10448; Messick, *Syndicate Abroad*, 135–36; also “Caladesi Loan Being Probed by U.S. Senate,” *St. Petersburg Times*, October 4, 1960).

153: “At this time, however, Bursten was working with the Murchisons to promote a taxpayer-funded causeway from the Florida mainland to an undeveloped island just south of Miami Beach, which was mostly owned by an investment syndicate headed by Vice President Nixon’s close friend Bebe Rebozo.”

Gerth noted that the sale of land to Rebozo’s syndicate was “arranged and brokered” by Miami Beach realtor and developer Nathan Ratner, who owned 3,140 shares in the Bank of Miami Beach. The bank, as noted earlier, had a long history of criminal associations. During the late

1950s, it was a prime repository of funds for the Havana casinos owned by the Lansky brothers and the Cleveland Syndicate (Moe Dalitz, Morris Kleinman, Sam Tucker). In 1957 it came under the control of Lou Poller, who in 1960 would join Samuel Cohen in taking over the mob money laundromat, Miami National Bank, with a \$4 million loan from the Teamster Central States Pension Fund. In the early 1960s, it handled “skim” from the Lansky-dominated Monte Carlo Casino on Grand Bahama Island. Messick, *Syndicate Abroad*; *Miami Herald*, December 7, 1965, June 10, 1966, June 12, 1966.

155: “The swampy tract, known as New Orleans East, was sandwiched between Lake Pontchartrain and Lake Borgne.”

The Murchison property abutted another large tract in East New Orleans previously owned by United Fruit’s Samuel Zemurray, and then by New Orleans oil millionaire Joe Brown. Shortly before his death in 1958, Brown owned the Horseshoe Club casino in Las Vegas, which he sold to Ed Levinson. Billy Sothern, *Down in New Orleans: Reflections from a Drowned City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 217; FBI report by SA Leo Kuykendall, November 5, 1958, “Lester Benjamin Binion,” NARA 124-90088-10078. After Brown’s death, New York real estate developer Marvin Kratter purchased many of Brown’s holdings in New Orleans and Las Vegas. He built the Las Vegas Country Club, whose members included such notorious mobsters as Anthony Spilotro and Frank “Lefty” Rosenthal. It was taken over by a syndicate led by Moe Dalitz. “The Las Vegas Country Club: A True Las Vegas Icon,” https://www.wtsinternational.org/assets/181/17/History_of_LVCC-2.pdf. An FBI informant claimed that Kratter’s operation fronted for “hot money” from major organized crime figures. FBI memo from SAC, Los Angeles, to Director, FBI, February 24, 1960, “Kratter Corporation,” NARA 124-90086-10116. Existing records do not confirm the merits of his detailed allegations.

Chapter 7

159: “In 1949, a Chicago newspaper exposed Crown’s partnership with one of the city’s most powerful insiders—Jacob M. Arvey, a nationally prominent Cook County Democratic boss and former political patron of the Chicago Outfit, in the hidden purchase of property alongside a major highway project.”

Years later, Crown’s son Lester, who was being groomed to take over the family business empire, admitted taking part in a scheme to bribe Illinois lawmakers to benefit Material Service Corp., which by then was a division of General Dynamics. In exchange for his testimony, Lester was given immunity from prosecution by US Attorney, and later Illinois governor, James Thompson, who was evidently a close ally of the family. Despite that public humiliation, Material Service Corp. continued to receive sweetheart deals from the city of Chicago. *Wall Street Journal*, June 28, 1976; “Governor Helped Crown Keep U.S. Security OK,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, August 4, 1986; Bob Tamarkin, “The Ordeal of Lester Crown,” *New York Times Magazine*, December 7, 1986; *Business Week*, March 31, 1986.

160: “Crown continued investing in real estate with the Hilton family for many years.”

As an example of a later deal between Hilton Hotels and the Crown family, see “Hilton Hotels Corp. Sells, Leases Back Unit in Beverly Hills,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 6, 1961. Crown and Hilton were also defendants in an \$8.6 million shareholder lawsuit filed in 1963, charging them with selling millions of dollars’ worth of shares back to the Hilton Hotels Corp. with “insider’s knowledge that the market would drop.” After the US Supreme Court ruled that the landmark class action case could proceed, the company’s thirteen directors agreed to settle and pay the corporation \$825,000. “Hilton Hotels Sued by a Stockholder in Repurchase Deal,” *New York Times*, December 17, 1963; “19 Hilton Officers Face Trial on Suit,” *New York Times*, September 15, 1966; “Hilton Directors to Pay \$825,000,” *New York Times*, November 17, 1966; “\$825,000 Settlement Voted in Hilton Hotels Corp. Suit,” *New York Times*, December 31, 1966. The Supreme Court ruled in *Surowitz v. Hilton Hotels Corp.*, 383 U.S. 363 (1966).

160: “*Hollywood Reporter* called it ‘the biggest deal in club entertainment history.’”

Rosselli’s friend Louis J. Lederer, a Chicago mob associate who helped develop the mob-controlled Sands, Fremont, and Tropicana hotel-casinos in Las Vegas, presented an offer to Conrad Hilton in 1957 to operate the new casino at the Habana Hilton Hotel, then under construction. He proposed hiring Rosselli’s Monte Prosser Productions to produce entertainment at the hotel. Lederer listed among his references Jacob Arvey and Arvey’s confidant Charles Baron, an investor in the Tropicana. FBI report by SA Harold F. Dodge, Los Angeles, May 19, 1958, NARA 124-10217-10416.

160: “In 1949, Crown joined Al Hart, the former Capone man (chapter 6), on the board of directors of Columbia Pictures, whose cofounder Harry Cohn was a close friend of Rosselli.”

New Jersey mobster Abner Zwillman once held a hidden interest in the studio as well. Tim Adler, *Hollywood and the Mob: Movies, Mafia, Sex and Death* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 54; Hank Messick, *The Beauties and the Beasts: The Mob in Show Business* (New York: David McKay, 1973), 54, 102. Columbia Pictures head Harry Cohn reportedly signed Virginia Hill, mistress of New York gangster Benjamin Siegel, to a seven-year movie contract. David Hanna, *Virginia Hill: Queen of the Underworld* (New York: Belmont Tower Books, 1975), 78.

160: “In 1950, Crown’s son Lester created a huge new real estate alliance by marrying the daughter of New York hotel and theater mogul J. Myer Schine.”

The marriage of the Crown and Schine families would later create an enormous schism in 1988 when G. David Schine—Roy Cohn’s friend from the days of the McCarthy era—accused Henry Crown’s son Lester of executing “a plan over the years to rape, ruin, and squander a once great empire that my father spent his lifetime building.” A year later, David and his children sued

Lester Crown for misappropriating the family's estate. Crown, who managed the Schine widow's fortune, filed a lawsuit claiming her estate after she died in 1994. David fought that claim in court as well. He died bankrupt, without seeing a penny of the family fortune. Crown ended up in control of a majority of Schine's estate. George Rush, "The Red-Baiter and the Billionaire," *Spy*, March 1991; "The Tragic and Ugly Fall of the Schine Empire," https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=506418326163704&id=350171255121746.

161: "Schine's fortune was estimated at more than \$150 million by the mid-1960s, even after settling long-standing federal antitrust and criminal contempt charges dating back to 1949."

In 1965, a major legal battle broke out for control of Schine's hotel, theater, broadcast, and real estate holdings. The rival buyers were Lawrence A. Wien (with ties to Las Vegas gamblers, discussed below) and a publicly held corporation, Realty Equities. Realty Equities won the arbitration battle in 1968. A senior official in Realty Equities, Nate Dolin, was president and CEO of Eastern Racing Association, in which New England Mafia boss Raymond Patriarcha reputedly had a hidden interest. Dolin was indicted in 1969 (but later acquitted) on federal charges relating to International Credit Bank, a money laundromat for Meyer Lansky, John Pullman, and other notable criminals. Laurence O'Donnell, "Realty Equities to Buy Nearly All Schine Interests," *Wall Street Journal*, September 2, 1965; "Schine Family Squabble Made Public with Filing for \$15 Million Damages," *Wall Street Journal*, November 2, 1965; "J. Myer Schine, 78, Hotel Man, Dead," *New York Times*, May 10, 1971 (war for control); *Wall Street Journal*, April 14, 1969 (Realty Equities and Dolin).

161: "In 1947, his Roney Plaza hotel—the most celebrated property in Miami Beach at the time—leased its illegal bookie concession for \$40,000 to New York mobster Frank Erickson, a partner of Costello and Lansky (chapter 3)."

The Roney Plaza was later a favorite vacation spot for Mafia attorney Roy Cohn, who had become close to David Schine on the staff of McCarthy's investigating committee. Von Hoffman, *Citizen Cohn*, 254.

162: "It was also a favorite hangout for Chicago mobsters Sam Giancana and Joseph Fischetti and their friend Frank Sinatra."

Giancana's nineteen-year-old daughter Bonnie got married at the hotel in 1959. Giancana, Rosselli, Trafficante, and Robert Maheu met at the Fontainebleau in September 1960 to discuss plans for assassinating Castro; they convened again on March 12, 1961, when the hotel was said to be "fairly swarming with mafiosi," to watch the third heavyweight boxing match between Floyd Patterson and Ingemar Johansson. A year later, Lansky met Louis Chesler and several confederates at the hotel to discuss plans for opening a casino in the Bahamas. Steven Gaines, *Fool's Paradise: Players, Poseurs, and the Culture of Excess in South Beach* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2009), 83 (Giancana); Richard Mahoney, *Sons & Brothers: The Days of Jack and*

Bobby Kennedy (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1999), 94 (boxing); “Chesler Concedes Paying Huge Sums for Gambling Permission in Bahamas,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 19, 1967; Summers, *Arrogance of Power*, 241 (Lansky/Chesler meeting). The Fontainebleau was also the site of at least one “whizbang” party sponsored by the Murchisons, at which Bobby Baker was a prominent guest; Keith Wheeler, “Scandal Grows and Grows in Washington,” *Life*, November 22, 1963, 40B.

162: “In 1967, the *Miami Herald* charged that Lansky’s friends in the old Jewish crime syndicate from Minneapolis, led by convicted bootleggers Isadore Blumenfeld and his brothers Yiddy and Harry Bloom, ‘openly owned the land on which the Fontainebleau stands.’”

Novack sued the *Miami Herald* and the two reporters for \$10 million but dropped his libel suit on April 20, 1968, two days before the scheduled start of the trial. “In return, *Miami Herald* agreed to publish a statement on its front page stating that he was the sole owner of the Fontainebleau’s operating company. But the newspaper never had to apologize officially for the stories or retract any of its claims of Mafia involvement in the Fontainebleau.” John Glatt, *The Prince of Paradise: The True Story of a Hotel Heir, His Seductive Wife, and a Ruthless Murder* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2013), 62.

162: “The transaction smacked of a payoff for some undisclosed deal.”

A few years earlier, a US narcotics agent stationed in Mexico received information that “the [Detroit] Purple Gang had bought a ranch in Arizona near the Mexican border and had constructed a secret air strip on it,” suggesting their possible involvement in the “sudden transformation” of Mexico into a major narcotics exporter. See report to Commissioner of Customs by D. J. DeLagrange, Treasury Representative in Charge, December 26, 1947, in box 23, Records of the Drug Enforcement Administration, Record Group 170, NARA. In 1972, Zerilli’s son Anthony was convicted of holding a hidden interest in the Frontier Hotel in Las Vegas. John Rosselli, who helped arrange that deal, became an informant in the case.

162–63: “Crown put on its board his brother Irving and son Lester, both of whom were senior officers of Material Service Corp., as well as Conrad Hilton and Hilton executive Joseph P. Binns.”

Also joining the Empire State board was Arnold M. Grant, a friend of Crown and partner in the prominent Beverly Hills law firm of Bautzer, Grant, Youngman & Silbert. In 1946 Grant was a partner with two business grandees—Twentieth Century-Fox studio boss Joseph Schenck and Columbia Broadcasting System investor Jacob Paley—in the Del Mar Turf Club and racetrack; Grant stayed on as president of the track when Flamingo hotel-casino investor and Capone-era bootlegger Al Hart bought the track in 1952. That same year, Grant and his law partner Greg Bautzer represented a disreputable syndicate including Ralph Stolkin (chapter 6) and Sidney Korshak, which bought an option on RKO Pictures from Howard Hughes. Matt Potter, “The Big

Rich: Part Two,” *San Diego Reader*, January 12, 2011 (Del Mar); James Gladstone, *The Man Who Seduced Hollywood: The Life and Loves of Greg Bautzer* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2013), 174–75 (RKO), 247; Russo, *Supernob*, 128–29.

Crown also installed Frederick M. Glass as vice chairman and chief executive of Empire State Building Corp. Glass was a former employee of American News Corp.’s Henry Garfinkle, Lansky’s partner in the Miami International Airport Hotel. Glass later became a director of Cosmos Bank in Zurich (see “Nixon’s Caribbean Milieu” online at rowman.com). “Frederick Glass, 79, Transportation Official, Dies,” *New York Times*, June 3, 1993. Another Cosmos director, William G. Dillon, was a senior partner of Ed Weisl’s Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett and a director of Atlas Corp., Hilton’s investment partner. General Dynamics CEO Frank Pace Jr. was also one of Cosmos Bank’s “friends and directors” in the mid-1960s; “Transatlantic Ripples from the Cosmos Bank,” *Business Week*, September 14, 1974, 38. Glass, Dillon, and Pace show up on the Cosmos list of shareholders in 1966, in “Cosmos Bank Correspondence (3)” file, Robert Anderson papers, Dwight Eisenhower Library.

163: “Atlas Corp.—by then the biggest investment trust in the world—had major holdings in Hilton Hotels, Madison Square Garden, Hearst Publications, Schenley Industries, Pan Am, and United Fruit Co.”

Odlum’s transactions with Hughes over RKO resulted in Hughes becoming a significant shareholder in Atlas. The fact caused years of complex litigation and regulatory action due to potential conflicts between Hughes’s holdings in TWA and Atlas’s holdings in Northeast Airlines. In 1960, remarkably enough, Odlum very nearly resigned as head of Atlas in order to become “chief executive of all Hughes business and philanthropic enterprises.” As happened to so many deals with Hughes, this one fell through. “Memo of Employment Agreement between Howard Hughes and Floyd B. Odlum,” and other documents, in “Hughes Papers, 1956–1962 (6)” file, Odlum papers, Eisenhower Library.

163: “Six years later, in 1959, Crown merged his huge Material Service Corp. into General Dynamics in return for 20 percent of the military contractor’s equity, making him its largest shareholder and Odlum’s partner once again.”

It may be just coincidental, but Chicago mobster John Rosselli purchased General Dynamics stock on June 30 of that year, selling for a profit in November. FBI report by SA Harold Dodge, May 20, 1960, “John Rosselli,” NARA 124-10208-10468.

164: “Hoy had been president of the Sherman and Ambassador Hotels in Chicago, favorite mob hangouts.”

The Sherman Hotel was the site of a famous “treaty” arranged on October 21, 1926, which divided Chicago between rival mob factions (Moran and Capone). “The Hotel Sherman,” April

17, 2017, at <https://chicagohistorytoday.wordpress.com/2017/04/17/the-hotel-sherman/>. When Crown recruited Hoy, leases on the hotels were held by New York real estate mogul William Zeckendorf, with financing from a group headed by Arnold Kirkeby, former owner of the Hotel Nacional in Havana (*Chicago Tribune*, February 20, 1961).

164: “After 1966, following a shake-up in the ownership of General Dynamics, Hoy left to become vice chairman of the mob-linked Penn-Dixie Cement Co.”

Shake-up: In 1965–1966, General Dynamics CEO Roger Lewis bought out Crown’s convertible stock. Crown began buying back in with his Chicago friend Nathan Cummings. In 1970, they gained control and fired Lewis. “Defense Supplier Bids for Shares,” *New York Times*, April 9, 1965; “Crown Group Buys Dynamics Holding,” *New York Times*, February 21, 1970; Leonard Sloane, “Crown to Get Seat at Dynamics,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1970; Richard Griffin, “Taking Account of Henry Crown,” *New York Times*, December 12, 1976.

Mob-linked: Hoy was vice chairman and executive vice president of Penn-Dixie Cement Co. in Chicago. Its CEO, Jerome Castle, was an admitted “old friend” of New York crime boss Frank Costello (Dan Dorfman, “An Invitation for Dining, Disco-Dancing . . . and the SEC,” *New York*, May 9, 1977). Hoy helped engineer Penn-Dixie’s takeover of Continental Steel, whose board he joined (“Job Changes,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1969; “Defrauding of Banks Denied,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1969; “Penn-Dixie Controls Continental Board,” *New York Times*, December 13, 1969). In 1974, the 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals held that Penn-Dixie had engaged in fraud in that acquisition. See *John Schlick v. Penn-Dixie Cement Corporation et al.*, 507 F.2d 374 (2d Cir. 1974). The results of the takeover were tragic: “Under the rule of master conglomerator Jerome Castle, decision-making power was, in effect, taken out of the hands of local managers and given to financial analysts working out of New York boardrooms. For the next 10 years, Penn-Dixie drained an estimated \$35 million from the profitable Kokomo mill, spending much of it on highly dubious land speculations in the swamps of Florida and elsewhere, while refusing to make the capital improvements necessary to keep the steel plant competitive over the long haul. . . . Conditions worsened in 1977 when Jerome Castle’s machinations led to a full-scale investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission, ultimately landing the former Wall Street hero in jail on fraud and conspiracy charges in 1979. The following year, its bank credits exhausted, Penn-Dixie filed for bankruptcy, putting the entire Kokomo operation in jeopardy.” Joel Kotkin, “A Commitment Forged in Steel,” *Inc.*, June 1, 1983.

164: “A nod from Korshak, and the Dodgers suddenly can play night baseball.”

As Evans’s quote indicates, Korshak was a labor attorney for Madison Square Garden. Korshak was evidently recruited in the late 1960s by the Garden’s biggest shareholder, Gulf & Western. The head of G&W’s real estate division, Philip Levin, became president of Madison Square Garden and invested with Korshak in an Acapulco condo development and in controversial Las Vegas casino operator Parvin-Dohrmann. Dan Dorfman, “The Korshak Connection,” *New York*, October 20, 1975; Gene Smith, “Levin Will Be President of Garden after Merger,” *New York*

Times, November 3, 1970; Leonard Sloane, “Businessman Looking to a Fertile Garden,” *New York Times*, November 16, 1970; Alden Whitman, “Philip Levin, Head of Madison Square Garden, Dies,” *New York Times*, August 4, 1971. Gus Russo writes that Levin was son of “a minor loan shark” and made his initial fortune in part by selling land in Florida to “syndicate figures.” Telephone records suggested he had close ties to New Jersey mobster Angelo DeCarlo: “Federal investigators were certain that Levin’s fast rise in real estate was financed by Meyer Lansky, and that Levin figured prominently in both DeCarlo’s and Lansky’s operations” (Russo, *Supermob*, 340).

165: “‘Korshak and the nation’s top G-man were seated at the same table, despite the fact that Hoover’s own agents had been gathering evidence on Korshak’s activities on secret wiretaps for seven years,’ the *Los Angeles Times* reported years later, after Korshak was safely dead.”

Eventually, the Korshak connection got Hilton Hotels into deep trouble. After the corporation—then led by Barron Hilton—spent millions of dollars building a luxury hotel-casino in Atlantic City, New Jersey’s Casino Control Commission in 1985 cited the company’s lack of candor about its long connection with Korshak as a reason to deny it a gaming license. State investigators learned that the hotel company had paid Korshak more than \$700,000 in fees and expenses, but they could not get senior executives to provide solid information as to who hired him, when he was hired, or what work he did for the company (“Shop Talk,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 13, 1985). In denying Hilton a gaming license, members of the commission also cited alleged organized crime connections by a Hilton executive vice president in San Francisco. Donald Janson, “Hilton Rejected for License to Operate a Jersey Casino,” *New York Times*, March 1, 1985. Hilton sold its Atlantic City property to Donald Trump, who renamed it Trump’s Castle.

165: “Short of funds and unwilling to relinquish any control to potential lenders, Hughes dragged out his negotiations with Convair for delivery of the planes, putting the entire deal at risk.”

Hughes’s attorney Gregson Bautzer came up with a potential savior for both sides of the deal: Henry Crown. (Crown, as we saw, put Bautzer’s law partner, Arnold Grant, on the board of Empire State Building Company.) With every incentive to keep TWA afloat for Convair’s sake, Crown offered to lend \$50 million directly to Hughes, purchase a block of TWA shares, and drum up large bank loans using his stake in the Empire State Building as collateral. Crown proposed to install as TWA’s new president Frederick M. Glass, former senior vice president of Empire State Building Corporation and future principal in Cosmos Bank. Hughes loved the idea, but TWA’s investment bankers and the Civil Aeronautics Board nixed the deal. David B. Tinnin, *Just about Everybody vs. Howard Hughes: The Inside Story of the TWA–Howard Hughes Trial* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973), 24–78; Donald L. Barlett and James B. Steele, *Empire: The Life, Legend, and Madness of Howard Hughes* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), 216–24, 240–49; “Howard Hughes Signs Stock Plan,” *New York Times*, December 8, 1960; Richard Griffin, “Taking Account of Henry Crown,” *New York Times*, December 12, 1976; T. A. Wise,

“The Bankers and the Spook,” *Fortune*, March 1961. For an account of Bautzer’s trials and tribulations with Hughes, which nearly killed him, see Gladstone, *The Man Who Seduced Hollywood*, 177–80.

166: “As it happened, he was also a trusted adviser to members of the old Cleveland crime syndicate, led by Moe Dalitz.”

Wien’s brother Leonard sat on the board of Mount Sinai Hospital in Miami with Max Orovitz and Samuel Friedland (“Mount Sinai Elects Trustees,” *Miami News*, May 3, 1972). On Orovitz and Friedland, see “Nixon’s Caribbean Milieu” online at rowman.com.

167: “The F-111 program resurrected Henry Crown’s firm, along with its fifteen thousand subcontractors and suppliers.”

One economic study of the TFX contract estimated that it would pump more than \$900 million into the Fort Worth area over a period of eleven years. Raymond W. Harrison and Maj. Richard E. Smith, USAF, “An Economic Impact of the TFX Contract Award on the Fort Worth Trading Area,” Master’s thesis presented to the Faculty of the School of Systems and Logistics of the Air Force Institute of Technology, Air University, August 1963, at <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/424438.pdf>.

168: “Though Korth denied any conflict, he resigned his post in mid-October 1963, citing ‘long-standing personal reasons.’”

Harold Brown, who was director of Defense Research Engineering at the time of the TFX decision, defended Korth in his oral history interview, May 14, 1964, John F. Kennedy Library. The Justice Department also claimed that neither Korth nor Gilpatric had conflicts of interest in the TFX case (Norbert A. Schlei, recorded interview by John Stewart, February 20–21, 1968, John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program). Korth’s reputation was not burnished, however, when he appeared as a defendant in a stock fraud suit regarding insider purchases of shares in an insurance company. He and other defendants settled the lawsuit without admitting fraud (“Korth Suit Reveals New Angles,” *Daily Herald* (Provo, UT), October 18, 1963). Korth, Gilpatric, and Brown had previously come under fire from congressional investigators for awarding a contract for the X-22, an experimental vertical-takeoff aircraft, to Bell Aerospace, against unanimous expert opinion in the navy. Korth had previously sat on the board of Bell Aerospace. Mollenhoff, *Despoilers of Democracy*, 132–42.

168: “Vice President Johnson was said to be ‘very concerned’ about his fellow Texan and, without overtly intervening, prodded a friendly Justice Department official for information on its investigation of Korth.”

Johnson later appointed Ramsey Clark to succeed Robert Kennedy as attorney general. LBJ felt comfortable around Clark, the son of his close political ally, Tom Clark. As attorney general in 1948, Tom Clark along with Thomas Corcoran reputedly lobbied Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black to block a legal challenge to Johnson's disputed victory in the Texas Senate primary. Tom Clark's brother, Dallas attorney Robert L. Clark, was also said to be a "[confidant](#)" of LBJ.

Chapter 8

179: "Smith, dubbed 'Mr. San Diego' by the city's Rotary Club, owned the billion-dollar US National Bank, the San Diego Padres, and diverse interests in tuna canneries, real estate, silver mines, and the local Yellow Cab company."

One of Smith's partners in the Padres baseball team was San Diego's biggest developer, Irvin Kahn, son of a bootlegger and business partner with Morris Shenker, attorney for Jimmy Hoffa and numerous mobsters, in the Murrieta Hot Springs resort. Kahn's biggest developments were financed by more than \$100 million in loans from the mob-controlled Teamster Central States, Southeast and Southwest Areas Pension Fund, and by the Zurich-based Cosmos Bank, which had alleged connections to Richard Nixon. The Teamster pension fund and Smith's bank were both financial backers of La Costa, a resort developed by former Cleveland mobster Moe Dalitz, in which John Alessio was a charter member. See Don Bauder, "Story behind the Story," *San Diego Reader*, September 10, 2008; Don Bauder, "Trump Cabinet Nominee's Local Ties to Mafia," *San Diego Reader*, February 6, 2017.

185: "Hunter in turn was dazzled by Davidson's "amazing" range of contacts, including Caribbean dictators Somoza and Batista, Israeli defense minister Shimon Peres, "Jewish circles in the United States," Clint Murchison Jr., and Hoffa."

Davidson and Hunter had done business together in 1957. Davidson, a registered agent for Somoza, had brought the Murchisons to Nicaragua to investigate investment opportunities in the country, including home building. He sought help from Hunter, who was general counsel to the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, to arrange a \$350,000 grant for a demonstration housing project there. Hunter badgered Vice President Nixon to get the Eisenhower administration to extend an official invitation to President Somoza, against the wishes of the State Department. Nixon's aide Robert Cushman Jr. complained, "I cannot understand why Hunter persists in trying to get you to pull this Nicaraguan lobbyist, Davidson's, chestnuts out of the fire for him." Hunter letters to Nixon, January 19, February 14, and February 27, 1959; Hunter letter to Robert Fitch, January 19, 1959; Cushman memo to Nixon, February 16, 1959, in "Hunter, Oakley" folder, box 363, Series 320, Nixon papers, Nixon Library. Murray Chotiner allegedly intervened successfully with Hunter on behalf of a construction client; Jack Anderson, "Chotiner Seeks a Political Comeback," *Washington Post*, June 3, 1960.

190: “Other reporters heard—and in a few cases published—similar allegations about a Teamster/Las Vegas payoff.”

At least one purveyor of claims about Teamster union bribes, William Taub, was described by investigators as a confidence man with a long record of frauds. Memorandum by Justice Department attorney R. G. Andary, “William Leonard Taub,” August 23, 1974, in CCTF #803 file 1, WSPF papers, NARA. Another source of Teamster funding claims was IRS informant Harry Hall (or Haler). He, too, had a long record as a con man despite the confidence in him felt by some federal agents. See Summers, *The Arrogance of Power*, 399; Neff, *Mobbed Up*, 166–69.

191: “Following Kleindienst’s decision, Jim Drinkhall reported, ‘the entire file on the Shenker case disappeared from Justice Department files in St. Louis.’”

Shenker had long enjoyed great clout with Democratic administrations as well. He ran a large campaign fund financed by contributions from members of St. Louis Local 562 of the Steamfitters Union, whose corrupt president (and Shenker’s client), Larry Callanan, served time in prison for extortion. In 1964, when Shenker was Missouri coordinator of the Johnson-Humphrey campaign, President Johnson commuted Callanan’s sentence under questionable circumstances. Callanan’s campaign fund subsequently donated \$55,000 to the Johnson-Humphrey campaign, causing “a political ruckus that shook the U.S. Senate, the Justice Department and even the White House itself.” William Lambert, “Ex-Con Who Spends Big on Candidates,” *Life*, July 26, 1968, 42a.

193: “He was released from prison the same day as Hoffa.”

Kovens went on to acquire the Teamster-financed Boca Teeca Country Club Estates near Boca Raton from Arthur Desser’s Teamster-financed World Wide Realty. (Chicago mob associate Allen Dorfman owned 25,000 shares in Desser’s real estate company.) Boca Teeca was a favorite residence of convicted Teamster officials and racketeers. Jonathan Kwitny, *Vicious Circles: The Mafia in the Marketplace* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), 168; Sal Recchi and Bill Tarrant, “Cal Kovens Is ‘Non-Denominational,’” *Boca Raton News*, August 6, 1978; Jim Drinkhall, “Hoffa and Dorfman—Manipulating the Fund,” *Overdrive*, June 1972. One of Kovens’ partners in Boca Teeca was Solomon Eisenrod, who at least briefly had been an investment broker for John Rosselli. A memo by the Dade County Public Safety Department called Eisenrod “somewhat of a mystery man who appeared from nowhere to take up the Boca Teeca project after the Teamsters foreclosed on Worldwide [sic] Realty. . . . Eisenrod has become a consultant to the Teamsters specializing in re-organization of real estate undertakings.” Dade County Public Safety Department memorandum, December 21, 1971, re “Organized Crime—Calvin Kovens—Suspect”; SAC Los Angeles to Director, FBI, August 3, 1962, NARA 124-10353-10077. Kovens was also identified in a report by the New Jersey Division of Gaming Enforcement as a close friend and business associate of Alvin Malnik, one of the founders with Ed Levinson, Cliff Jones, Gene San Souci, and John Pullman of the mob’s money laundromat, Bank of World Commerce. See Sal Recchi, “The Casino Connection,” *Boca Raton News*, March

2, 1980. Kovens built the 138-unit Canongate Condominium Apartments on the grounds of the Teamster-financed Sky Lakes Country Club, “whose owners, Alvin Malnik and Samuel E. Cohen, have been the targets of federal organized crime investigations.” Allen Dorfman was also involved in the development. Buyers of the condos included senior Teamster officials Frank Fitzsimmons, William Presser, and Sal Provenzano; Jay Sarno, the indicted owner of the Circus Circus casino in Las Vegas; Honeymoon Isle Development Corp.; and Allen Dorfman’s mother (Drinkhall, “Bally Manufacturing Corporation,” *Overdrive*, June 1974).

Kovens’s brother Irvin received pension fund loans of his own and took the Fifth in Calvin’s trial. He was investigated years later by the SEC for transferring racetrack stock to relatives of Jimmy Hoffa. He also came under investigation for making large loans to an associate of Maryland governor Marvin Mandel to buy racetrack stock, in an extension of the state corruption investigation that led to the conviction for Vice President (and former Maryland governor) Spiro Agnew. See “SEC Inquiry Touches on Hoffa Family,” *New York Times*, May 18, 1975; “Mandel and Patrons: Power in Maryland,” *Washington Post*, June 1, 1975; “Financial Benefits Put at over \$100,000,” *Washington Post*, September 26, 1975. On Irvin Kovens’ indictment, see *Washington Post*, November 25, 1975. On the conviction of Kovens and Governor Mandel, see “Gov. Mandel Is Found Guilty,” *Washington Post*, August 24, 1977.

193: “Kleindienst was acquitted in 1981 on criminal charges but was suspended by the Arizona Supreme Court from practicing law for lying about his legal work on the deal.”

Kleindienst’s sleazy record was no fluke. He launched his political career in the early 1950s as a leader of Sen. Barry Goldwater’s band of conservative Republican activists known informally as the “Arizona Mafia.” Senator Goldwater, his brother Robert, and state Republican chairman Harry Rosenzweig had numerous ties to real mobsters, including Chicago Outfit associate Willie Bioff (convicted in the Hollywood extortion case) and Gus Greenbaum (manager of the mob-controlled Flamingo and Riviera casinos in Las Vegas). Niels Bjerre-Poulsen, *Right Face: Organizing the American Conservative Movement 1945–65* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002), 234; “Richard Kleindienst,” *The Guardian*, February 4, 2000; Jack Anderson, “Sen. Goldwater and His Mobster Friends,” *Madera Tribune*, October 12, 1964; “Goldwater Brothers Named in Triumvirate; Investigative Team Tells Underworld Ties,” *Desert Sun*, March 16, 1977.

As deputy attorney general, Kleindienst demonstrated a remarkable lack of ethical sense when an aide to a Senate Judiciary Committee member offered a \$100,000 campaign contribution to Nixon in exchange for quashing a federal indictment against three leading mobsters for swindling banks and brokerage houses of well over \$1 million. Kleindienst testified in the subsequent bribery trial, admitting that the aide offered him the corrupt quid pro quo. Instead of throwing him out of the office or reporting the bribe, however, Kleindienst simply discussed with him an upcoming appointment to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. A federal prosecutor in the case later wrote, “Incredibly, Kleindienst, then deputy attorney general, testified that he did not perceive the offer to be a bribe until paperwork summarizing the facts came across his desk in

connection with an application for electronic surveillance!” Craig Whitney, “Jury Here Indicts 16 in Stock Fraud,” *New York Times*, November 20, 1970; Michael Kaufman, “Fraud Case Opens in U.S. Court Here,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1971; Arnold Lubash, “Aide to Senator Fong Convicted of Bribery Scheme and Perjury,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1971; Arnold Lubash, “Tramunti Guilty of Perjury Here,” *New York Times*, October 26, 1973; Eugene Zagat Jr. and George Davidson, “Mr. Kleindienst’s Fitness,” *Washington Post*, May 16, 1972; Michael Hellerman, *Wall Street Swindler* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 252–54; Winter-Berger, *The Washington Pay-Off*, 82; Richard Ben-Veniste, *The Emperor’s New Clothes: Exposing the Truth from Watergate to 9/11* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2009), 35.